

objective we seek, and it is on reaching that objective that we must insist.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I had truly hoped that I could support legislation that could deliver meaningful and historic reform of our Nation's welfare system, but this bill forces California to bear far more than our fair share of the burden.

Last year I voted for the Senate bill and against the conference bill because California's concerns were not met. This year, I would hope that some of these items could be fixed in conference committee, so that we are able to vote for a bill at the end of this process.

Nearly one-third of the net reductions contained in this bill fall on just one State: California. California is being asked to shoulder \$17 billion in cuts—one-third of the entire savings. The question is, what is the State able and willing to provide to fill in the gap? An examination of Governor Wilson's budget indicates that dollars budgeted for food stamps, AFDC, and benefits for legal immigrants drop from an estimated \$1.9 billion in the current fiscal year to just over \$1.5 billion in 1997—therefore, counties cannot expect a large bailout from the State.

Consequently, for those who deserve special help, whether they be aged, blind, developmentally disabled or mentally ill, an increased burden will most certainly fall on the counties.

NO SAFETY NET FOR CHILDREN

S. 1795 ends the Federal guarantee of cash assistance for poor children and families, and provides no safety net for children whose parents reached the 5-year time limit on benefits. There are approximately 2.7 million AFDC recipients in California, of which 68 percent are children. Under the time limit, 3.3 million children nationwide and 514,000 children in California would lose all assistance after 5 years.

The Children's Defense Fund estimates that under this bill, 1.2 million more children would fall into poverty. California's child poverty rate was 27 percent for 1992-94, substantially above the national average of 21 percent. Under this bill, even more children in California would be living in poverty.

FOOD STAMPS DRASTICALLY REDUCED

California will lose \$4.2 billion in cuts to the Food Stamp Program, reducing benefits for 1.2 million households. Nearly 2 million children in California receive food stamp benefits. Children of legal immigrants would be eliminated from food stamp benefits immediately.

CHILD CARE FUNDING INADEQUATE

Currently in California, paid child care is not available to 80 percent of eligible AFDC children. The Senate welfare reform bill awards child care block grants to States based on their current utilization of Federal child care funds. But California's current utilization rate is low, so California would be institutionally disadvantaged under this bill.

NO HEALTH COVERAGE FOR CHILDREN

The Senate bill ends the Federal guarantee of health insurance or Medicaid for women on AFDC and their children. In California, 290,000 children and 750,000 parents would lose coverage, according to the Children's Defense Fund. California has the third highest uninsured rate in the Nation at 22 percent of the population.

DENIAL OF BENEFITS TO LEGAL IMMIGRANTS

The Senate welfare reform bill would deny SSI and food stamps to most legal immigrants, including those already residing in California. In 1994, 15.4 percent, or 390,000, of AFDC recipients in California were noncitizens.

Fifty-two percent of all legal immigrants in the United States who are on SSI and AFDC reside in California. Los Angeles County estimates that 234,000 aged, blind, and disabled legal immigrants would lose SSI benefits, 150,000 people would lose AFDC, and 93,000 SSI recipients would lose benefits under this bill. The county estimates that the loss of SSI funds could result in a cost shift to the county of more than \$236 million annually. Loss of Medicaid coverage for legal immigrants would shift an additional \$100 million per year.

With this in mind, I cannot support this bill, because I believe it unfairly disadvantages California. It would be my hope that as the conference process continues, this can be taken into consideration and the bill that emerges can be fair across the board and not single out any one State for one-third of the burden of the cuts.

It is especially important that individual counties in California take a close look at the impact this legislation will have on their jurisdiction. For example, Los Angeles County continues to be the most devastated county in the Nation under this bill with almost \$500 million in added costs each year. California counties must help us press our case with the House-Senate conferees on the impact of this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the clerk will report H.R. 3734.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 3734) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 201(a)(1) of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1997.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, all after the enacting clause of H.R. 3734 is stricken and the text of S. 1956, as amended, is inserted in lieu thereof.

The question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 3734), as amended, was ordered to a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I have the honor to yield 2 minutes to my distinguished friend from New Jersey, Senator BRADLEY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I do not think we have really even started to talk about the consequences of this act on the lives of people who actually live in American cities. If this bill passes and we look ahead 5 years into the future, city streets will not be safer, urban families will not be more stable, new jobs will not be created and schools will not be better. None of these things will happen. Instead, this bill will simply punish those in cities least able to cope.

With the repeal of title IV of the Social Security Act, the Federal Government would have broken its promise to children who are poor. It will have washed its hands of any responsibility for them. It will have passed the buck.

What we need to do to change the broken welfare system is not block grants. What we need is not transferring pots of money from one group of politicians to another group of politicians without regard to need, rules or accountability.

In fact, with the block grant, we will even be paying for people who have been shifted off the State welfare rolls onto the Federal SSI rolls. In 22 States that have cut welfare rolls, 247,000 adults went off AFDC and 206,000 went on to SSI.

Because Governors are good at gaming Federal funding systems, we will be paying for these 206,000 people through the block grant at the same time we are paying for them through SSI. What we need is a steady Federal commitment and State experimentation so that we can change welfare in a way that will encourage marriage, get people off welfare rolls and into jobs for the long term. Sadly, this bill will produce the opposite result.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I have the honor to yield 2 minutes to my distinguished friend from Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, I thank very much the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. President, I believe that the Senate will rue the day that we pass this legislation. This day, this bill opens up the floor under poor children which in our lifetimes no child has ever had to fall no matter how poor, how irresponsible its parents might be. This day, in the name of reform, this Senate will do actual violence to poor children, putting millions of them into poverty who were not in poverty before.

No one in the debate on this legislation has fully or adequately answered the question: What happens to the children? They are, after all, the greatest number of people affected by this legislation.